. Charles Seminary Library
Carthagena, Ohio
OCT 6

THE Commonweal

Daniel P. Moynihan

THE QUESTION OF THE STATES

Some New Horizons

Adolph Schalk

THE CHURCH BEHIND THE WALL

Edward Engberg

A CHILD'S GARDEN?

J. F. Powers' Morte D'Urban • *A Poem by J. H. McCandless* • *Religion and the Supreme Court: An Exchange* • *Glenway Wescott's Six Choices*

VOLUME LXXVII, NO. 3 OCTOBER 12, 1962 TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

35th Annual Conference

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

OCTOBER 25-28, 1962

The Waldorf-Astoria

New York City

"Positive Approaches to Peace in the Social Teachings of the Church"

Preliminary Program

Thurs., Oct. 25, 7 p.m.—Registration
8 p.m.—"Catholic Social Teaching as a Framework," REV. GEORGE DUNNE, S.J.

Fri., Oct. 26, 9:30 a.m.—"Foreign Aid and World Peace," WILLIAM E. MORAN
2 p.m. Briefings at United Nations
8 p.m.—Reception for UN delegates

Sat., Oct. 27, 9 a.m.—"From Aid to Trade," WILLIAM B. DALE
12 noon—Annual Peace Award Luncheon
"The Mystical Body, Basis of Responsibility," REV. ALBERT J. NEVINS, M.M.
2:30 p.m.—"Responsibility of Catholic Organizations," REV. JOHN J. CONSIDINE, M.M.
5 p.m.—Annual Business Meeting (CAIP members only)

Sun., Oct. 28, 10 a.m.—Mass for Peace, St. Patrick's Cathedral
11:45 a.m.—Closing session (CAIP members only)
1:15 p.m.—Executive Council Luncheon-Meeting, Carpenter Suite

Please make room reservations directly to the Waldorf-Astoria, New York 22, N.Y., at least two weeks in advance.

For advance reservations to the Conference, write:

Catholic Association for International Peace
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

☐ Registration, $5. ☐ Student Registration, $1.
☐ Peace Award Luncheon, $7.

THIS WEEK

EDITORIALS

59 Showdown in Mississippi
60 Who Is the Real Enemy?
60 Missiles to Israel
61 The Narcotics Problem
61 Reprise

ARTICLES, FEATURES

62 A Child's Garden?
by Edward Engberg
64 Oh Dad, Poor Dad
by James O'Gara
65 The Question of the States
by Daniel P. Moynihan
69 The Church Behind the Wall
by Adolph Schalk
74 "Religion and the Supreme Court"
An Exchange of Views

VERSE

68 Heidelberg
by Larry Rubin
73 Lines for a Fallout Shelter
by J. H. McCandless

DEPARTMENTS

71 The Stage
by Richard Gilman
72 The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung
77 Books

THE COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
JAMES O'GARA, *Managing Editor*
DANIEL CALLAHAN, *Associate Editor*
WALTER ARNOLD, JR., *Assistant Editor*

RICHARD GILMAN, *Drama Critic*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, *Movie Critic*
ROBERT BARRAT, *Paris*
GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN, *Rome*
MICHAEL P. FOGARTY, *Great Britain*

JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager*

Second-class postage paid at Norwalk, Conn. Printed in the U.S.A and published weekly, except biweekly from mid-July to mid September, at 116 Main St., Norwalk, Conn., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y MUrray Hill 3-2042.

Copyright © 1962 The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.

U.S. and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign, $10 Single copies 25¢.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Showdown in Mississippi

OF THE VARIOUS side issues in the University of Mississippi case, one of the most poignant is the courage and determination of James Meredith himself. There is the nine-year period he put in as a typist in the Air Force in order to finance a university education. When repeatedly rebuffed in his efforts to gain admission to the University, he refused to be diverted from his dedicated course. He has manifested coolness under fire and indomitable courage in the face of jeers, insults and threats that proved to be far from idle. His is an outstanding example of the patience and self-sacrifice that have characterized the admirable conduct of the American Negro in his struggle for justice and full citizenship in recent years.

Another element, which became more and more of a side issue as the tension mounted, is the effect of this widely publicized showdown on other lands. Put in its crudest form, the argument goes that James Meredith should be admitted to the University of Mississippi because we Caucasians are a decided minority in the world. Or, more persuasively, this notorious example of racism greatly weakens the moral authority of the United States as the leader of the free world, especially among the uncommitted peoples. Undeniable as this argument is, it must yield priority to other points.

To bar a person from opportunities for an education solely because of his race is an act of injustice which conflicts violently with this nation's ideals of democracy and freedom. Two federal courts, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and the District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi, had ordered the admission of James Meredith to the University, while the federal District Court of New Orleans found Governor Barnett of Mississippi guilty of civil contempt for thwarting the orders of the other courts. As President Kennedy put it in his address to the nation on the eve of James Meredith's admittance to the University: "In a government of laws and not of men, no man, however prominent or powerful, and no mob, however unruly or boisterous, is entitled to defy a court of law."

CITIZENS' COUNCILS, said to be more powerful politically in Mississippi than in any other state, provided the backbone of the opposition to James Meredith's admission. The defiance of Governor Barnett and Lieutenant-Governor Johnson was widely backed. It was heavily-armed state police and apparently deputized non-uniformed Mississippians who blocked the first efforts of federal marshals to effect the Meredith registration. Hundreds of jeering and rioting students reflected sentiments widely held by the white citizens of their state.

On the other hand there was an impressive number of Southern voices counseling submission and moderation in the crisis. Among them were governors of neighboring states, the great majority of the judges of the New Orleans District Court, distinguished Southern newspaper editors and a University of Mississippi student newspaper. There were the precedents of desegregation at other major Southern universities cited by Mr. Kennedy. One of the most heartening aspects was the widespread regional sentiment upholding respect for the law of the land.

All this and President Kennedy's eloquent and direct appeal to the students for loyalty proved unavailing on the Oxford campus, the night of September 30. A thousand college students and others from the vicinity battled federal marshals for over eight hours. Two men were killed. And when James Meredith appeared the next morning, after having registered at last, a student mob accused him of having blood on his hands.

Who was responsible for the night's shameful rioting and tragic bloodshed, the man who was quietly seeking an education to which he was legally entitled or the elements who rose up against

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duly constituted government authority in a senseless, destructive demonstration against overwhelming force?

In backing down, Governor Barnett himself has not retracted his recourse to "states rights," his untenable assertion that states have the right to "interpose" their authority between that of the federal government and their individual citizens, and the like. He expressly bowed only to the superior accumulation of armed force that the Administration wisely was mounting against him. The initiative which Washington finally assumed carried the day.

The registration of James Meredith represents a victory for racial justice and for the authority of the federal government and the law of the land. It was won at the cost of disorder, wanton destruction, insult and bloodshed. Even at the University of Mississippi itself the victory is not half-won. If James Meredith is not afforded sufficient personal protection and cooperation on the part of faculty and students to enable him to complete his courses, the outcome will have to be judged a national defeat.

Who Is the Real Enemy?

IT IS AN unfortunate but inescapable fact that almost any debate these days on federal aid to education soons gets bogged down in a swamp of confusion. Part of the confusion stems from Church-State issues which, whether relevant or not, are usually brought up. Normally, they serve more to confound the real issues than to bring any light on the ultimate values at stake. Still another part of the confusion stems from those who are opposed to any kind of federal aid, mainly through fear of increased federal expenditures and control.

The recent House vote to reject the compromise college aid bill worked out by a Senate-House conference committee appears to have reflected all of these sources of confusion. The bill itself, shaped by the Senate-House conferees after four hard months of wrangling, represented a compromise between a $2.6 billion Senate bill and a $1.5 billion House bill. The final figure agreed upon, $2.3 billion, would have provided $900 million in matching grants and $600 million in low-interest loans to both public and private colleges. Another $600 million would have provided loans for students. To forestall Church-State worries, the bill restricted the building funds to science laboratories, libraries and general purpose classrooms. In sum, the bill was a genuine compromise which won the overwhelming support of the conferees; and its passage seemed certain.

Yet, for reasons not altogether clear, the House voted 214-186 to send the bill back to the conference committee, thereby all but killing the bill in this session of Congress. In the public as well as the diocesan press, most of the blame for the defeat was directed at the National Education Association. There is much that is valid in that indictment. For it is clear that the N.E.A. carried on a vigorous lobbying campaign, raised in an obfuscatory manner the Church-State question, and, in general, did everything in its power to kill the bill.

Still, however strong the N.E.A.'s pressure, the House opposition to the bill came from the usual source: a conservative coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans. No doubt N.E.A. support for the bill would have made some difference in the final vote. But the reality of the matter is that, on any federal aid to education bill, there is a hard and seemingly permanent core of opposition in the House. To make the N.E.A. the sole villain in the college aid instance is to ignore the more obvious reality of the conservative coalition.

To say this is not to deny the benighted and self-seeking policy of the N.E.A. But it is to say that the real target of criticism ought to be the conservative coalition. Unhappily, there is a tendency in the Catholic press to act as if all the opposition to federal aid involving private schools stems from Church-State absolutists, secularistic non-believers and haters of Church-related education. Doubtless, some opposition does come from those sources. Yet far more comes from those solid, respectable religious men who make much in Congress out of their fight to preserve our religion-centered society. In the end, the real obstruction to federal aid to private schools comes from those good old conservatives. It is time to take a look at them.

Missiles to Israel

FOR SOME years now it has been the policy of this country to do everything in its power to keep the peace in the Middle East. On the one hand, this policy has meant the resisting of Soviet power plays and intrigues in the oil-rich Arab lands. On the other, it has meant a continuing attempt to keep Israel and the United Arab Republic from each other's throats. In one sense, the first aim has been relatively easy to realize: a combination of aid to needy Arab nations, support of pro-Western regimes, and timely warnings to Russia have been the means of implementing this policy.

The U.A.R.-Israeli dispute has been another matter. In that case, America's foreign policy has been to win and keep the friendship of both sides. More pragmatically, there has been a consistent effort to see to it that neither Israel nor the U.A.R. gains a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

decided military advantage over the other. Of late, however, Soviet aid to the U.A.R. has been tipping the military advantage toward President Nasser's forces. As one way of restoring the power balance, the Kennedy Administration has decided to sell Israel surface-to-air defensive missiles. It has made this decision despite the obvious danger of losing what little friendship the U.S. has been able to build up with the U.A.R. in recent years.

There seems to be no good reason to fault the Administration's thinking in the decision. Clearly, President Nasser would, given his past avowals to destroy Israel, make the most of weakness on Israel's part. Almost as certain, the Soviet Union would profit from an Israeli-U.A.R. war.

The distressing thing about the decision, however, is that it contributes directly to an escalation of the arms race in the Middle East. Where will this race stop? Perhaps it is now time for the State Department to begin applying some pressure to the U.A.R. not to accept further aid from the Soviet Union. If that would run the risk of antagonizing President Nasser, it would seem no less risky to allow Israel and the U.A.R. to build up their power indefinitely.

It has been part and parcel of contemporary foreign policy thinking that a balance of power between two antagonistic forces is the way to maintain a stable peace. For the most part, this kind of thinking has proved valid. The trouble with it is that, when it goes wrong, it goes very wrong. Should it go wrong in the instance of the Soviet Union and America it will prove fatal to much of contemporary civilization. Should it go wrong in the instance of Israel and the U.A.R., it could mean disaster in the Middle East. If not in the former case, it surely ought to be possible to devise a new strategy in the latter.

The Narcotics Problem

THROUGH AN unhappy circumstance of world trade, the glory of many a Turkish hillside is the shame of our greatest cities. For the lovely poppy so common in the Levant (*Papaver somniferum*, botanically), yields a tasteless, odorless white residue, known as heroin, which holds in abject slavery countless thousands of souls (a minimum of sixty-five thousand are *known*) from New York to Los Angeles.

According to a recent excellent survey in *Jubilee* magazine, the problem of narcotics addiction in this country is "enormous and becoming explosive." Until very recently, moreover, the American social conscience was blind to the nature, if not the very existence of the narcotic user's sickness. The addict was branded as a "criminal" and for his "crime" of addiction subjected to all the abuses that his wounded soul fed upon in the first place. Lately, at least, the Metcalf-Volker Act (which will take effect beginning in 1963) recognizes addiction as an illness and allows convicted addicts to choose hospital and community services as an alternative to jail.

Last week also saw the beginning of what may turn out to be a giant step toward an effective national program for the rehabilitation of compulsive narcotics users. In an excellent follow-up to the Metcalf-Volker Act, the President opened a scheduled two-week White House Conference on Narcotics and Drug Abuse. The Conference will see relevant and informed discussions among four hundred doctors, lawyers, law-enforcement officers, sociologists and educators. The discussions will be addressed to a multitude of problems in an attempt to promote "direct guidance" both to the Legislature and private agencies.

To the skeptical, whose hesitant mood no one who senses the magnitude of the problem can fail to sympathize with, we feel it necessary to affirm the largest hope that out of this conference will emerge a more detailed medical, legal and social chart of the addict's heretofore strange and dark world. That knowledge is absolutely essential before people will be willing to commit public funds to a program of rehabilitation.

The very least that can be reasonably expected, it would seem, is a clear recommendation about the kind of environment that is most conducive to a cure from addiction, whether it be a hospital or a "natural community." Ignorant disagreements over that fundamental point have so far created a stalemate on recommendations for the federal government to build more narcotics hospitals. If the existing hospitals are unsuccessful in curing addicts, the citizen could at least expect a clear statement to that effect from the President's Conference.

Whether or not the White House Conference turns out to be a Babel of conflicting pronouncements, it does at least represent a merciful turning point in the public attitude toward one of the darkest corners in the public psyche. For all of these reasons, the findings of the conference merit the closest attention.

Reprise

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of a Farewell Concert in Town Hall by the great Tito Schipa was greeted with incredulous looks by not a few people. Even musical *cognoscenti* were caught unawares, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could be overheard in polite circles questioning the authenticity of the printed announcements. The plain fact is that many people had assumed that this undoubted master of Italian opera and song had disappeared from the musical scene long ago. As for the uninitiated, a farewell was no guarantee that the singer had even been heard before.

Tito Schipa had of course been heard before. From 1932 to 1941 he appeared at the Met on triumphal occasions as Don Ottavio in Mozart's "Don Giovanni," and as Alfredo in Verdi's "La Traviata," as well as in other classic and favorite roles. From the Met Mr. Schipa took to the concert stage, where he impressed the critics wherever he went with the most exquisite rendering of arias and chamber pieces. Anyone who has heard Mr. Schipa sing the enchanting "Violette" by Scarlatti can attest to his hold on the spirit and senses of an audience.

Now, at the age of seventy-three, Mr. Schipa's voice is said to have lost none of its power to charm. The fact is Mr. Schipa has a secret, which allows him to make this unexpected farewell tour. "I never forced my voice, and I never sang what I couldn't sing. That's my only secret." Bravo, Mr. Schipa, you have outwitted the dire prophets of declining years. An incredulous public is about to be treated to a reprise of delightful song which, at this point, can hardly be regarded as a "farewell."

A Child's Garden?

I SUSPECT that many children grow up these days with feelings toward television like those I had as a child about the old copies of *Esquire* stored not quite safely out of my reach. The sensations which come with peering at something over which one's parents show so much anguish ("Television time's up!" "That show isn't for children!" "Be a good boy or there will be no television for you!") must be almost erotic, like those which accompany the first cup of watered-down coffee, or the drink that looks like a Manhattan but isn't. One can't help but carry such addicting sensations into later life, which probably accounts for a good many alcoholics, movie buffs and the commercial success *Esquire* has enjoyed through the years in spite of its latter-day appeal to the intellect.

Not long ago, while in a fit of paternal concern, I urged on the oldest of my brood, a boy aged twelve, that he pass up the Saturday-night westerns on television, and turn to some higher pursuit, like—well, like reading Sherlock Holmes, say. To put it another way, I wanted to wean him away from the world of a business-like paladin in black flannel armor, and of a frontier marshal as big and wholesome as all outdoors, and put him into the hands of a mousey, nineteenth century cocaine and morphine addict who repeatedly professes pride in vast areas of ignorance. I was not sure why, precisely, until I began to think about the account in the *New York Times* some weeks ago of the testimony given before the Senate subcommittee on juvenile delinquency by Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Childhood is an experience which, by itself, makes no one an expert on the subject except children, and they are too inexperienced to be much heeded. Thus it is "a sad fact," as Dr. Stanton told the committee, that "we don't have adequate research" to measure the extent of television's influence on the young, and that there is "a whole host of forces at work." I give Dr. Stanton this. A child is perpetually submerged in an ambiance of messages, a low hum, punctuated by shrieks, made up of words, actions, songs, pictures, glances, moods, mutterings. They come, to mention only a few obvious sources, from parents, clergymen, teachers, Boy Scout leaders, ring leaders, playmates and *their* parents, social workers, shopkeepers, books, magazines, movies, radio, as well as from television.

They instruct, wheedle, cajole, exhort, threaten, promise, praise, blame, inspire, excite, titillate. The gun or stick toted by a policeman conveys meaning as much as does the opening shot from "Gunsmoke"; a shout from a parent, a wail of a siren in the middle of the night, a screechy teacher, the face of a clown, a pediatrician's hypodermic syringe, are as much messages as a rollicking episode from Ben Casey. Dr. Stanton must know, however, that the most compelling of these, and the ones to which a child is most vulnerable, are the artfully pre-packaged messages which give form and structure to the rest.

No child, in William Hazlitt's commendable formulation, "is truly himself but in the ideas which others entertain of him." While Dr. Stanton awaits the fruits of further research, a parent, to help his progeny obtain a sound idea of themselves, must monitor the racket of messages as best he knows how. Some he excludes or postpones (or tries to); some he uses; with some he must compete; some do not matter much one way or the other.

For the American parent this task has probably never been more exacting than it is today. This is not only because the noise has gone up in volume and intensity, but also because the experience of one generation is so difficult to make relevant to the next. My children's growing pains may be at least as acute as mine were, but their hazards, and the sources of their woes and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hopes, are contained in things and situations which for me did not exist.

I know even less, surely, than Dr. Stanton, who holds a Ph.D. in psychology, whether television has a greater influence over children than did the comic books, radio programs and movies which research suggests it has displaced in their attention. I venture that it has, because it is as accessible as all sin, more literal, more intrusive and done with such great technical skill that it is more likely to be accepted as a true depiction of what makes the world go 'round. To prevent it from becoming a twenty-one-inch mirror, by which a child takes to reckoning himself and his possibilities, is another tax on a parent's already heavily taxed energies—in days when parents have a tough time making something out of their own experience.

AN OBVIOUS SOLUTION is to create the great bulk of programs for grown-ups. This would either bore the kids away from the set and into a child's pursuits, or help them grow up. This is unacceptable, however, because apparently there is a chronic minority of grown-ups in TV-land. Adults are treated to some excellent offerings, but the shows which hold the greatest continuing attraction for the most set-owners reflect and reinforce prevalent values, the broadcasters and advertisers argue, and television cannot presume to try to create new ones, for this would be undemocratic.

To ask, therefore, what television is doing to children is like asking how a water wheel makes the water run. Out of the drawer come the ratings, and they are persuasive: I have no reason to suppose that they do not reflect accurately a priority of popular consent, and that they reveal—well, what, exactly?

Television broadcasting is at best an oligopoly; in many places a broadcaster holds an absolute monopoly. The oligopolist or monopolist, being deprived of the experimentation—and thereby information about his markets—that competition would provide, must locate such nerves and appetites as he can, chiefly out of his own preconceptions. The ratings merely rank a few offerings at any given time, presumably according to the pleasure they yield set owners, but they don't say why. They indicate, too, that a large number of set owners prefer to watch television to any of the other pleasures at hand, save perhaps those which can be indulged simultaneously, like making love, guzzling beer, smoking, munching a sandwich, or criticizing television. What appears on the screen, therefore, reveals more about how the broadcaster and advertiser regard the set owner than it does about how the set owner thinks, or wants to be caught thinking, about himself.

The view from behind the screen is not flattering. What sort of person does the industry invite, with the enormous funds of money and talent at its disposal, to play out aggressions and anxieties in the all-right violence done by heroes who are omnipotent and omniscient, as if in the fantasies of a schizophrenic, in the simple worlds of Dodge City, a Los Angeles court room, or Chicago in the twenties? Or to play simple-minded games, or to try to identify with and laugh off his troubles in the simple-minded worlds of simple-minded people, in situations which are ludicrous on their face, yet too pretentious even to be good farce? The least that can be said for Sherlock Holmes is that he pays great respect to the operations of intelligence.

Clarence B. Randall, who knows a good deal about democracy, and also about how to make money, remarks in the *Folklore of Management*: "Studies and surveys are only guides: They are not tablets of stone handed down from the mountain top to embody eternal truths. What difference does it make what the average man thinks about anything?" Discourse is the engine of civilization; ideas, usually at first unpopular, or unheeded, are its fuel. They are the means by which a society, no less than an individual, makes its experience accessible to itself, and so enables itself to survive. Why is it that a steel manufacturer understands this better than does the president of a television network, to whom the knowledge is vital?

Several years ago, in connection with a Fund for the Republic study, I commented on how an advertising executive went about sanitizing cast lists for television shows from all taint of controversy. I think the analysis holds true as well for the way a broadcaster approaches his work, that is, in much the same way a physicist might tackle a problem in vector analysis. He begins by trying to resolve, as best he can, the forces which impinge on him from sponsors, advertising agencies, and from set owners who are members of Congress, or whose name is Newton Minow. To establish some norm of programming, he seeks out the balance of forces which will achieve the least amount of friction.

This procedure may be therapeutic for all concerned, but it also corks up the flow of, and breeds contempt for, ideas. They are used, handled and manipulated to sell goods, subdue obstructions to power, or wear as adornments on a program schedule. I don't want to pick on Dr. Stanton; it is the price he pays for being, so far as I can tell, the most intelligent, and the only intelligible, network president. Still, at the Dodd subcommittee hearings when a particularly noxious example of an "action" show was tossed at him, he remarked that the action shows seemed to be in the downtrend and he, according to the *Times* report, "applauded" the trend. The account made him sound as if he were no more than a particularly interested spectator, a willing servant of uptrends and downtrends. He was, in short, a study in power without responsibility. How can you fight a thing like that?

EDWARD ENGBERG

(Mr. Engberg, a previous contributor, has written for Fortune, the New Leader, and other American journals.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oh Dad, Poor Dad

THE N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE recently ran a series of excerpts from Peter Wyden's *Suburbia's Coddled Kids*, published by Doubleday. I thought I'd had all the discussion of suburbia I could take, but Mr. Wyden's book is a surprisingly interesting popular account of a fantastic postwar phenomenon, and I found myself reading the installments every day with considerable interest.

Author Wyden has come up with some startling incidents—the child who presented a $50 bill to pay for his lunch in one suburban school, for example, and the formal dance for sixth-graders in still another community. He has also made comments of his own which seem to me to reflect a high degree of common sense. His own children, I suspect, will never be in the position of the boy reported on in the New Yorker cartoon, who answered a question about his father's occupation by saying that he didn't know what his father did all day, but whatever it was it made him sick to the stomach.

The section of the book that caught my attention most, though, was one called "Where's Daddy?," a title which sums up the chapter's thesis very nicely. Let me see if I can isolate the major complaints.

In suburbia, the indictment goes, there has occurred not only an unscrambling and stratification of the population but a fundamental reshuffling within the family. Here a paper from the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth is cited as authority: "In the suburb the parental roles undergo considerable alteration. The mother becomes the authority figure of the family, since the father is away for such extended periods of the day." Few changes in modern society, Mr. Wyden says, are able to exercise greater impact on children than this subtle shift of responsibilities right in the home.

The suburban child, as *Suburbia's Coddled Kids* reports it, is confused, and for good reason: a blurring of sexual differences among parents. "Mummy is the boss and Daddy carries the luggage," is the way one child put it. "What about all the housewives who wear pants, perform rugged chores around the house, and call themselves Billy or Sydney?" Mr. Wyden asks. "What notions about femininity will a little girl glean from a mother who acts much of the time in a bi-sexual capacity?"

And why is Mother, whether Billy or Sydney, carrying on like this? Because, of course, Dad is missing, off in that nether-nether land of the city or commuting to or fro on the train with all the other Dads.

Boys don't know their fathers, high school principals told the author. "Boys have told me time and time again they have no male figure to identify with," one reported. Another study concluded with a similar finding: "The boy is likewise deprived of a male model with which to identify himself . . . and thus learn at firsthand the masculine role in the culture."

Well, maybe, but although I enjoyed Mr. Wyden's book I can't say I was completely persuaded. Raising children is a joy, but it is never easy and it is often heartbreaking; as a result, it seems to me, every generation finds something or other to blame its worries on. If it's not the war, it's mah-jong; if it's not the depression, it's prosperity. This time around it's suburbia.

This is not to say the life in suburbia is necessarily idyllic. As far as I am concerned, there are many things in the city which I love and which are simply not available in the suburbs. And I particularly detest those completely artificial, homogenized "development" type suburbs, where everyone is pretty much of the same age, education and social class; to live in an area where a child never gets to see people who are "different" seems to me particularly unfortunate.

But problems like the absence of a male work-image for boys to pattern after are not really suburbia's problems; they are common in any advanced industrial society. As our culture gets more complex and work more specialized, many fathers do jobs which are impossible for children really to understand. It's a problem, but it is not peculiar to suburbia.

I'm not so sold on the missing father routine either. I suspect that suburban children see a lot more of their fathers than *their* fathers did. A generation ago the six-day, forty-eight hour week was considered the pinnacle of leisurely living, and the ten-hour day was not such a distant memory. Even when you allow for the hours spent in commuting, the father of today is, by comparison, underfoot half the time.

The thing is, I suppose, that any advance anywhere along the line has to be paid for. There is something undeniably attractive about a simpler society. The blacksmith's boy who worked side by side with his father and learned his trade knew where he was from the very beginning. There is no denying that. The hitch, of course, is that he had precious little choice in the matter—he became a blacksmith and that was that.

It would be nice to be able to have the best of both worlds, but I don't think it can be done. However, it does seem from Mr. Wyden's book that some suburban parents aren't even trying. If a seventeen-year-old from a well-to-do suburban family has never seen an escalator, I would not blame suburbia. And as for the parents who think formal dances for ten-year-olds are just the thing, I suspect they could spoil any child, city or suburban.

JAMES O'GARA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Daniel P. Moynihan

The Question of the States

In an age of growing centralization of federal power, what future is there for state government?

THE RESPONSE to *Baker v. Carr* has been as dramatic as the decision itself. Within six months of the Supreme Court decision reapportionment was already proceeding in fourteen states, and the issue had been or was about to be raised in just about every state of the Union. What has taken place is more than a response: it has been an uprising. For all the Court may have ventured into new and perilous territory, it did so on an issue which for a large and active portion of the electorate has become one of justice, as well as of substantial interest.

This is not to assert that the changes taking place will be for the better. Americans are gadget-minded about government, as Guthrie Birkhead has pointed out, in part as a heritage of the Progressive movement. General reapportionment could bring about a fundamental, almost constitutional change in American government. Or it could end up merely as more tinkering with the machinery, as has referendum and recall. The outcome will largely be determined by whether or not reapportionment is accompanied by a revival of interest in state government, which for half a century has declined amidst neglect, indifference and, worse, disdain.

To be sure, state government has had its share of lyricism from political leaders seeking better jobs elsewhere—Governor Rockefeller's *Freedom and Federalism* is a recent example—or from interests opposed to government action anywhere. But the thrust of serious opinion has been in quite the opposite direction. "In recent history, why have so few exceptionally able men been chosen governors?" asked a 1955 report of the American Assembly; "why are state legislatures held in such low repute?" *The Economist* described the recent Governors' Conference as a gathering of "harried and uneasy men" who gave "a painful impression of feeling inadequate and nervously irresolute." Even so staunch a conservative thinker as Andrew Hacker, commenting on the Supreme Court decision, concluded that "the states and their lawmaking bodies are dying institutions."

If this is the case, unquestionably malapportionment has been one of the causes. For decades students of state government have documented the inequities of the present situation: Vermont which has not reapportioned since 1793; Nevada, where eight per cent of the voters can elect a majority of the Senate; and so forth.

The most common result of this has been a rural veto over the actions of state governments which are, or ought to be, increasingly occupied with urban problems. With farmers sharing less and less of the national prosperity, and in the face of splintered and divergent urban interests, rural legislators have had little incentive to press forward on urban affairs. The result in some states has been inertia, in many others a very low level of vitality toward the problems of growth and change at mid-century.

THIS IS a condition sad enough for those states affected by it, but sadder still for those to which it is exported by the imperatives of interstate commerce. Competition between the states for industry is relentless, and no state can rest assured of pre-eminence. (In 1947 New York City had the highest manufacturing wages of any of the 17 principal metropolitan centers; by 1960 it had the lowest.) Whether true or not, it is widely held that increasing state services in forms that add to labor costs or business taxes weakens the competitive position of local industry. This has produced a reluctance of even advanced and prosperous states to get too far out in front.

Malapportionment is largely responsible for yet another source of state inertia: the endemic split between the party of the governor and that of the legislature, which V. O. Key has termed "The Perversion of Separation of Powers." At the state level political parties do not perform their function of uniting the legislature and executive branches on policy matters. Between 1930 and 1950, in the thirty-two states which had a minimum of interparty competition, after one out of every three elections the governor was faced by a legislature with one or both of the houses controlled by the opposite party. (A note of caution: as Karl A. Bosworth has shown, this can be as much the effect of gerrymandering by the majority party as of malapportionment.)

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN is Executive Assistant to the Secretary of Labor. Formerly he was Acting Secretary to Governor Averell Harriman of New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inertia and stalemate produce frustration—and its persistence ends in something like mistrust of the whole system. State constitutions are notorious for their detailed provisions, designed to limit the discretion of both the governor and the legislature. The Louisiana constitution, for instance, is 217,000 words long. Not surprisingly, it is possible to gain the impression that some state legislatures have more or less given up trying to do anything. This year only twenty-one legislatures met at all, and eight of these for budget purposes only. The chief executives in turn find it difficult to run a state government with sustained popular approval. In 1960 only eight incumbent governors were re-elected, of whom only four came from "two-party" states.

Increasingly, those who view government as a positive force have turned elsewhere. The state capitals have on the whole been left to special interests, and to conservatives who find much there to reinforce their inclination to discount how much people know or care about public affairs—for the attention of the public has turned elsewhere as well.

This lack of public attention is enough to break the heart of anyone who does accomplish something at the state level. As an example, one of the most significant advances made in the field of public welfare since the New Deal has been the establishment of disability benefits systems in four states, Rhode Island, New York, Wisconsin and California. Disability benefits are sickness insurance: any worker covered (generally, those covered by unemployment insurance) who becomes sick or injured *off the job* receives a weekly payment equal to about what he would receive if unemployed. Thus in California a stenographer who breaks her leg skiing, or a farm laborer who falls ill, can receive up to $70 a week for as long as six months.

It is idle to suppose that any such program would pass the Congress *de novo*. Yet there may be a long-term prospect for a national disability benefits program because four important states have tried it out on their own, and have shown that it is workable. This is a splendid instance of the states experimenting with new ideas: yet it has hardly added to the reputation of state government, nor, I suspect, to the political reputations of those who brought it about.

Two summers ago I had occasion to inquire into the degree of awareness among New York state workers of their three basic employment security programs: workman's compensation, unemployment insurance, and disability benefits. One hundred fifty interviews were gathered, based on a model of the New York work force. The results were emphatic. Ninety-seven per cent of those interviewed knew about workman's compensation, a pre-World War I state program, and ninety-seven per cent knew about unemployment insurance, a federal-state program of the New Deal era. Most of those interviewed knew quite a few particulars as well. But scarcely forty-six per cent could report any awareness whatever of a program covering off-the-job injuries (i.e., disability benefits) and only a handful associated such a program with the state government. A third of those interviewed reported no knowledge of the program even though they were contributing to it and would receive benefits when eligible.

OF ITSELF, there is no reason to suppose that a general reapportionment will much change this situation. But it would establish the preconditions of change. Given general reapportionment, something like a revival of state government is possible, even likely. There are a number of reasons for thinking this.

For one thing, there has got to be. This was put as directly as may be by President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernment Relations (the Kestnbaum Commission) which declared that "the success of our federal system . . . depends in large measure upon the performance of the states." As there is not the least likelihood that we will change our federal system, the performance of the states gets very close to determining the success of American government in a range of matters universally acknowledged to be of the first consequence.

The political economics behind this generalization are really quite simple. Following a venerable but limited practice, the most important developments occurred a generation ago when so much New Deal social legislation provided that the states would administer the new programs. Unemployment insurance is a good example. The arrangement worked. Since then it has become a standard pattern for new federal programs, to the point that today one-quarter of the revenue of the states comes as grants-in-aid from the federal government.

The increase of federal aid to governments has been accompanied by an even greater increase in the expenditures of the states themselves. Governor Rockefeller is quite correct in stating that "the striking fact in our domestic political experience since World War II has not been the growth of federal government—but the far more rapid expansion of state and local government to meet growing social needs." In the decade of the 1950's state expenditures increased at six times the rate of federal non-defense spending. Since 1957, state and local government has been the only sector of the economy in which the rate of employment growth has increased.

In the 1930's when the big New Deal grant-in-aid programs were begun, the distinction between policy and administration was more popular among political scientists than it is today. Many persons in Washington at the time no doubt felt the states would leave little mark on the programs they were to administer. But

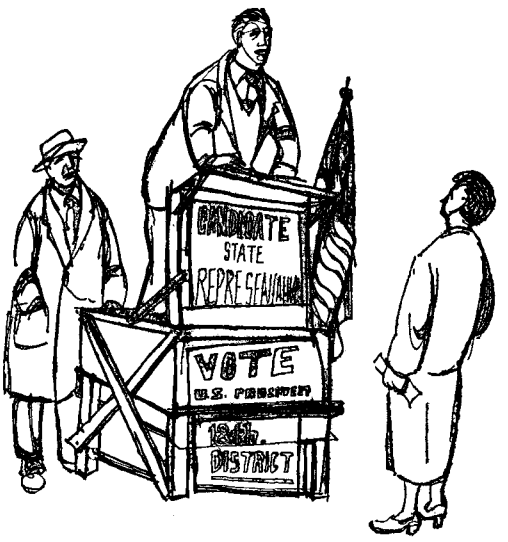
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has this been the case? Certainly not in the wide range of grant-in-aid programs involving questions of racial integration, to cite a fundamental issue on which different states hold widely divergent views. If it is difficult to cite other differences of similar degree, this is principally because of the tendency of state government professionals, e.g., highway engineers, to adopt uniform national standards on their own. But it is not necessarily the case. Any day now some state could turn up with a transportation genius, such as Robert Moses was forty years ago, and the resulting use of federal highway funds could startle the nation.

This is not to say that the influence of the states has grown at the expense of the federal government or of local governments. The over-all impact of government has grown, and so also that of the three basic components. In turn these have got quite mixed up themselves, producing an effect that Morton Grodzin has called "Marble Cake Federalism" in contrast to the neat three tiered arrangement of the past (or at least the textbooks of the past). It follows that the over-all effectiveness of American government is increasingly dependent on the effectiveness of all its elements.

IN A somewhat different sense from saying there must be a revival of state government, it is possible also to declare that there ought to be. The quality of life in America is too much influenced by state government to permit the present neglect to continue much longer. For a great range of government activities the nuance of excellence is added, or lost, at the state level. Nearly a million students are now enrolled in state universities. Some are at Berkeley, others are—elsewhere. Each year a million persons enter state mental hospitals. Some fall into the healing hands of Paul Hoch in New York, others end up sitting on iron beds staring at the bars on the windows.

The situation is apt to be intensified by the continued demands of the cold war. Foreign affairs are the preoccupation of the federal government, particularly the executive branch, and are equally the preoccupation of the strong ideological movements of our period. (*The Liberal Papers* are devoted *exclusively* to foreign policy. So also, it would appear from a limited exposure, are the rallies of the Young Americans for Freedom.)



For the most part this preoccupation simply reflects the changed reality that foreign affairs do come first. But there can also be sensed a certain disenchantment with social reform among those who have heretofore been its strongest advocates. (Thus Maurice F. Neufeld has described the turning away of the "generous-minded segments of the middle classes . . . from unions in prosperity to the destitute peoples of the world.") All this would seem to result in diminishing pressure for social innovation at the federal level. Very possibly the most significant advances of the near future will be made in the administration and expansion of existing programs, rather than from the establishment of new ones. If this were to occur, it would do so for the most part at the state level.

This prospect happens also to come at a moment when the persisting financial difficulties of state governments seem to be easing. For some time the overwhelming share of state funds has gone to three areas: education, highways, and mental health. The combined drain on revenue has produced one crisis after another since 1945, with the tempo, if anything, increasing. This itself has been a prime source of instability. A Buffalo factory foreman recently remarked to Samuel Lubell: "I change governors every four years hoping that sometime I'll get one who will cut our taxes." Now, however, the federal government has begun pouring funds into state highway coffers. Federal aid to education is already considerable, and certain to grow. The pharmacological revolution in psychiatry has brought about a six-year continuing decline in the population of mental hospitals. For the larger states, at all events, these developments ought to provide a sufficient level of "discretionary" funds with which to resume (or assume) their role as innovators and experimenters within the federal system.

The challenge of state government, then, is to infuse the ongoing work of education, welfare, transportation, housing—and so across the spectrum of domestic concerns—with style, imagination, and vigor. Changes in quality are possible in most state services that in short order would become changes in the very nature of the operation. Consider the transformation of so many mental institutions from warehouses to healing, therapeutic communities.

Some of these programs are spanking new, as for example the Manpower Training and Development program under which the federal government will provide funds for the training of 400,000 workers in the next three years. This is our first major effort to respond to the opportunities and responsibilities brought about

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by automation. In decades to come the very stability of American society will depend on our ability to match the training and retraining of the work force with the fantastic pace of technological change. This is as difficult and as far-reaching a problem as ever was posed by the economic depressions of the past. Daniel Bell, for example, has been warning that the impact of automation may soon make the racial problem insoluble. Now at last the federal government has undertaken to provide the better part of the funds to meet this challenge. But it is the state governments that must run the program, and must make it work.

Some new programs are clearly in the offing. Thus Rachel Carson's warnings on the use of insecticides are essentially warnings to state governments—for they control what is done to the land. But beyond what may now be foreseen, it is clear that the states are in a position to proceed in areas of the most profound importance to society. It only remains for them to awaken to this potential.

PERHAPS the most important challenge of all involves the wide range of impasses that exist in the present relations between government and organized religion. The post-Protestant era has arrived to the surprise of almost everyone. The result has been deadlock, misunderstanding, not a little outrage. Yet there is little likelihood that anything much will be done about this situation at the federal level. The states, on the other hand, could prove the ideal level on which to evolve a meaningful and creative accommodation between the interests of Protestants, Catholics and Jews, along with the large and increasingly vocal portion of the population which is simply non-religious. Balancing tickets among the various ethnic and religious groups is an ancient practice of state political parties. Balancing party platforms among Protestant-Catholic-Jewish social policies is neither as absurd nor as remote as it may seem; indeed, it already occurs.

The most pressing issue of church-state relations at the present moment is education. Here the circumstances vary so greatly in different parts of the country that it is hopeless to expect that any creative *national* solution can be reached. On the other hand, the fifty states are essentially free to experiment and to adapt their institutions to the wishes and needs of their own people.

Because so much power and authority already rest with the states—is laying there in most cases, waiting for someone to use it—the future of state government is especially dependent on the type of political leaders and career employees that it can attract. What the states lack most is people. What they need, above all, is vocation.

This is the greatest possible opportunity for young persons who believe in the creative use of government. It is equally an opportunity for those who admire diversity, and who share some of the conservative—and liberal—concern about the size of the central establishment. In the great complex of government in America, only the states are capable of asserting their will against, not the federal government perhaps, but surely the federal bureaucracy. That is a power to be cherished—and used.

Let it also be noted there is money to be made in state government. Some of the legislative posts pay fantastic, albeit occasionally clandestine, salaries and civil service pay is getting better all the time. Already New York and California have established what are surely the highest government salary scales in the free world. In Albany, for example, the Secretary to the Governor makes more than a cabinet officer in Washington.

Nor is it even required that those who make their way to the state capitals forsake the joys of international living! William Dale and David Fulton some time ago pointed out that in respect to size, economic activity and population characteristics, many, if not most, of the underdeveloped nations of the world are much more easily matched with one of our states than with the American nation as a whole. Dale and Fulton suggested that state governments might be a most effective means of relating our nation with individual African, Latin American, or Asian nations. Such developments have already occurred, and are likely to become more common.

Perhaps another source of interest, surely a matter to be noted, is that the state governments are still places where a man can hope to see the results of his own work. The Department of Defense now has one million, two hundred thousand civilian employees. Is it not time for a closer look at the possibilities of Tallahassee, Boise, Montpelier, Dover, Frankfort, Santa Fe, Cheyenne. . . .?

Heidelberg

(For Karlheinz Jacob)

In amber light they sunbathe on the banks
Of the foaming river, within sight
Of the castle, gingerbread on Hansel's hill,
And ancient gates and bridges dilate in
The sun. While tourists reel down cobbled streets
And dream of steins and princes, singing through
The foam, above, blue oceans roll,
A head of whitecaps blown into the sky.

And you, Karlheinz, in princely green—when was it
We left the students at the inn, to lie
Upon the banks, nationless in the sun?

LARRY RUBIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADOLPH SCHALK

The Church Behind the Wall

Harassment of religion is calculated and constant

NOTHING ILLUSTRATES the situation of the Church in East Germany so graphically as does one scene along the notorious Berlin Wall on the *Bernauer Strasse.* The Wall runs straight in front of the main entrance of an Evangelical church, appropriately named the Church of the Atonement. Just above the blocked entrance, the statue of Christ, its right arm raised in blessing, is clearly visible on the West Berlin side. Scrawled across the Wall are the words, *"Wir sind doch alle Brueder"*—"But we are all still brothers."

Since the structure stands in the East Sector, West Berlin members of the parish are cut off from their spiritual home. St. Michael's Catholic parish is similarly divided by the Wall. The parish church and rectory, along with its priests and one thousand of its members are imprisoned behind the Wall in the East Sector, while seven thousand members are in West Berlin. As is typical in such cases, the Evangelical *Bethany Hospital* lends its auditorium to the orphaned parishioners of St. Michael's for Sunday Masses. The ultimate absurdity of the line of demarcation is revealed at another point where the Wall divides a cemetery, separating West Berlin dead from East Berlin dead.

These examples, typical of hundreds all along the Iron Curtain border separating East from West Germany, serve as a symbol of the conflict between Church and State in East Germany. Surely the most striking feature of the Soviet Zone's conflict with the Church—in which it differs significantly from all other Communist and Iron Curtain countries—is the creation of the State Cult, or pseudo-religion. Far more insidious than outright persecution, this method aims at undermining the sacraments of the Church.

Through the State Cult the East German government has assiduously promoted a mystique, "liturgy," and "sacraments" of its own, designed to weaken the faith of both Catholics and Protestants (the latter are mostly members of the Evangelical Church, which in Germany has retained the sacraments and liturgy). Thus in place of baptism there is a Communist name-giving ceremony; in place of the sacrament of matrimony, a Communist wedding ceremony; in place of the Christian burial services, a socialist funeral. Each ceremony has its appropriate prescribed "liturgy" and ritual.

In 1958, Walter Ulbricht, Communist Chief of State of the DDR (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik,* as the Soviet Zone is euphemistically called) proclaimed his Communist version of the Ten Commandments. The first of these, by way of example, reads: "Thou shalt always strive for the international solidarity of the working-class and of all working people, as well as for the inviolable union of all socialist countries."

ESPECIALLY controversial is the replacement of the sacrament of confirmation with the *Jugendweihe* (Youth Dedication) ceremony, the formal atheistic youth dedication to the State. In highly elaborate solemnities (frequently accompanied by a full symphony orchestra, playing excerpts from a Wagnerian opera or Beethoven symphony) East German youngsters between twelve and sixteen take solemn vows to "serve with all our heart and soul the cause of socialism." Many thousands of youths have taken part in the ceremony—eighty-eight per cent of all youths in this age bracket took part in 1960 alone.

While both confessions, Catholic and Evangelical, have forthrightly condemned the ceremony and have forbidden participation in it, the greatest heroism is required on the part of parents to resist the "polite request" of party leaders to send their children to *Jugendweihe* ceremonies. Not only do they stand to lose their jobs if they do not comply, but their children are denied admittance to all schools of higher learning and all opportunities for advancement. In one six-month period, more than 1600 Protestant and Catholic teachers fled East Germany (before the Wall) to avoid making the moral compromise of encouraging their pupils to participate in *Jugendweihe.* Many lay leaders who actually did encourage youngsters to abstain, paid for their advice by spending several years in prison for "interfering with the development of youth."

Religious instruction, like religious freedom (which is "guaranteed" by the East German constitution) is theoretically permitted. But the regime imposes so many obstacles (instructions must be given during the very early hours of the morning), that only the hardiest of children can attend, while all priests and catechists must reckon with frequent humiliations from local school principals, nearly always card-carrying Communists.

The universities, in spite of much strong opposition by professors, have succumbed to state domination.

ADOLPH SCHALK, *a previous contributor, is a journalist who has spent a number of years reporting on German affairs.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Theism," declared Ulbricht on April 21, 1958, "cannot be presented at all in lectures at universities. Nobody has the right to do so. Theism does not comply with science, and has nothing to do with science. The university must not be mistaken for a church."

The ideological fight against the Church and religion penetrates nearly every art form (some operas, classical plays and books and movies excepted), especially radio and television, which have a large audience also in West Germany. Much of the propaganda deliberately aims at discrediting the character and good reputation enjoyed by clergy and religious. In the "Miracle-Maker," a story by Erwin Strittmatter, which was declared a Book-of-the-Month by the Free German Youth (without exaggeration, a counterpart of the *Hitler Jugend*) in 1958, the hero experiences the kindness of a nun while being hospitalized and is impressed by her holiness and purity. Until, that is, his dormitory neighbor disillusions him by saying: "Holy? But you should see her stare at my genitals whenever she makes my bed." East Germany is full of such propaganda.

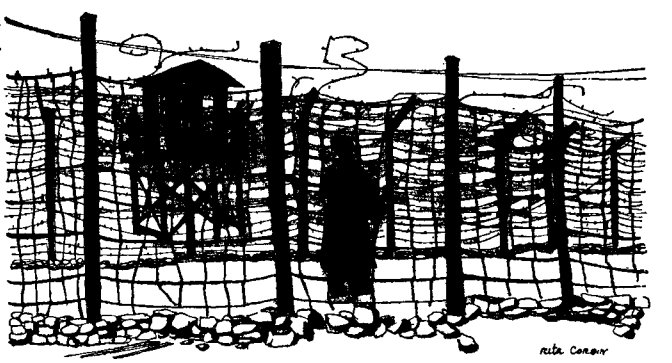
ON THE OTHER hand, nowhere is a stricter puritanical morality imposed than in East Germany. There are no strip-tease houses in East Berlin, no capitalistic gambling establishments, no prostitutes—as far as I could tell—as one sees plenty of after midnight on West Berlin's *Kurfuerstendamm*. During my brief visit to East Berlin recently I was appalled by the vast emptiness and dreariness of life all around me. Except for red bunting billowing from massive buildings with slogans like, "The DDR Brings Peace!" there is, so to speak, an abundance of absences everywhere: the absence of cars (and of parking space), the absence of advertising (and products advertised), potato shortages, the absence of carefree boisterousness so common in West Berlin, the absence of color, variety, traffic snarls, frivolity—organized sin.

I paused meditatively before a newsstand: no girlie magazines, no *Confidential*, no *True Romances* (but also no New York *Times*, no *Commonweal*, no *Commentary*, no *Christian Century*, no *Catholic Digest*). I had to smile as I thought of some of our Sodality crusades against smut. Is this what the Sodality wants? Even Mickey Mouse comic books are officially banned in East Berlin as an "enemy of peace." There is something diabolical about it all, as if the regime, by removing sin or the ability to sin, wants to deal the Church the cruelest blow of all by depriving her of the chance to be a refuge for sinners.

As for harassments, the East German regime here follows the usual procedure of other Communist countries. The regime does differ from the Nazis in that it avoids trials against priests and laymen. Whenever church leaders are imprisoned or penalized, it is emphasized that they are not punished as clergy or lay leaders but solely because of their "crimes," like any other citizen: "on exploiting his position as father confessor . . ." or "under the disguise of religion. . . ." There are never witnesses, and a suspect's statements are only valid if he substantiates the charges, never if he indicates his innocence. Even though priests are generally spared a criminal prosecution, they are frequently subjected to long interrogations, arrests, searches. When Archbishop Alfred Bengsch of the Berlin diocese (he is a titular archbishop) was consecrated a couple of years ago, he discovered that workmen, while installing a telephone in his new apartment, had hidden a microphone there as well. Promptly ripping the latter instrument from the wall, the Archbishop was arrested for his trouble.

On the very day I was present in East Berlin, a priest was arrested for allegedly encouraging teenagers to tear down Communist election posters; that is, he failed to prevent them from doing so and refused to identify them. Some time before, four Jesuit priests were charged and convicted of slandering the Communist State and of engaging in black market currency operations. They were sentenced to several years of hard labor in a penitentiary. Numerous lay people have received prison and penitentiary sentences, sometimes for several years of hard labor, just for such "crimes" as lecturing on the papal encyclicals, or merely for being caught with Catholic journals in their possession.

FOR Archbishop Bengsch, who lives in East Berlin even routine problems of administration, difficult enough in normal dioceses, defy solution. One of his biggest challenges is simply that of communicating with his people, for telephone lines between East and West Berlin have long been cut. West Berliners are categorically forbidden to enter East Berlin (though citizens from the Federal Republic are admitted, as are most foreigners). Of the nearly 600,000 Catholics in his diocese (which includes West and East Berlin and roughly about a fourth of the area known as East Germany) 296,500 live in the Western sectors of Berlin 133,000 in the Eastern sector and 141,700 in the Soviet Zone proper. At the same time, the Archbishop's traveling from one area to the other is restricted. Furthermore



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

priests serving West Berlin must be supplied from West German seminaries, while priests serving in the Soviet Zone must come from that Zone (mostly from the seminary at Erfurt).

When Archbishop Bengsch was installed as bishop of the diocese last summer, two separate installation ceremonies were held, one in East Berlin, and a second one two days later in West Berlin, for none of the West Berlin clergy or laity, nor even the Apostolic Nuncio to Germany, Konrad Cardinal Bafile, were permitted to enter East Berlin. The Archbishop, who at forty-one is the world's youngest, takes it all in stride, however, and has already become a legendary figure, known for his ready repartee and his skill in outwitting East Zone authorities.

Berlin is the only diocese in the world with two official diocesan newspapers: the outspoken, respected West Berlin *Petrusblatt,* edited by Monsignor Erich Klausener, son of the famed Catholic Action leader executed by the Hitler regime, and the necessarily timid *St. Hedwigsblatt* in East Berlin, which, in spite of its confinement to strictly harmless, devotional subject matter, managed to be confiscated three times since it began publication in 1954.

A positive development of the Church-State conflict in the Zone is the growing spirit of co-operation between the two confessions (the Evangelical Church had registered some fifteen and one-half million adherents some years back, and the Catholic Church numbers slightly less than two million members). Although church membership, especially Protestant, has declined about seventy-five per cent since 1957, the spirituality of the remaining Christians in the Zone is very high. Perhaps the real unsung heroes of East Germany are not the thousands and thousands of refugees who fled (though they are, many of them, deserving and heroic too), but the Christians who remained behind.

One Catholic father of five, who is very active in church affairs, who works in an office and earns less than fifty dollars a month, told me in East Berlin: "Many of my friends regard me as foolish because I did not flee while I had the chance. Now, since the wall, it is too late. But I couldn't in conscience do so. If you could only see how much these people need the Church—it is, after all, the only institution over here that they can trust. However restricted it may be, the Church remains a force in East Germany."

Both Protestant and Catholic church leaders are concerned now with the imminent threat of a separate peace treaty on the part of the Soviet Union with the East German regime. This, they fear, would isolate the Church even more and put her more completely than ever under the regime's jurisdiction.

Since the Wall was erected a year ago August 13th, hermetically sealing off virtually all escape possibilities, the regime has intensified its disciplinary measures on the Church. But its propaganda efforts have a strange twist. Outwardly the regime is friendly to the Church and even stages rallies to which it tries to lure Christians, urging them to take a greater part in politics. Oddly, the attacks and tirades are not against the Church as such, nor against the Vatican, but are concentrated on the "Franz Josef Strauss-warmongering Church" and "Hitler-collaborating Church" of West Germany, as well as on Cardinals Frings and Doepfner of West Germany.

In a very real sense, however, the Church of the Atonement on the *Bernauer Strasse* is the most appropriate symbol for the entire suffering Church (Catholic and Protestant) behind the Wall. For the entire Church in East Germany is a Church of the Atonement, expiating for the crimes of the Third Reich and for all those who, along with the Communists, are responsible for the Wall and the fruits of terror.

THE STAGE

Two Ways of Looking at Brecht

THERE HAVE been complaints that considering our present condition of theatrical scarcity the appearance of two different productions of the same play is wasteful and supererogatory. Yet after seeing the Living Theatre's and the Masque Theatre's versions of Brecht's *Mann ist Mann* on successive nights, it occurred to me that the opposite might be true: that one real dramatic imagination seen several ways is worth more than any number of unreal ones seen a single way each. This leads me to a proposal that we set aside a month or a season in which only one good play may be presented, in as many conceptions as are brought forward.

Thirteen ways of looking at a blackbird. Well, the point of that was to teach us about the imagination's relation to its material, and the point of having one play in two or thirteen or thirty-nine versions is much the same: to instruct us in the liberating truth that real multiplicity and differentiation lie in the area of form not subject. And the usefulness of that, simply on a practical level, is that it might help put an end to all the nonsense we spout about meaning and idea and theme in drama; it might keep us from continuing to think of "Macbeth" as a play about ambition, or "The Blacks" as one about Negro-white tensions, or "The Bald Soprano" as a study in the failure of communication.

To see two different sets of sensibilities at work upon Brecht's play is to understand again that dramatic imagination is everything, that if we believe a play to be "about" something other than its own action and composition it is by that token inferior, a paraphrase of some order of reality other than the dramatic. Which is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

why, if *Mann ist Mann* exists as a work of stage art, it cannot be about brainwashing or Communism or Capitalism or even the individual vs. society, though these things may enter into it the way syphilis entered into "Ghosts." The beauty of having the two productions coming on each other's heels last week was that in comparing them we could get beneath notions of subject matter or theme to the underlying theatrical reality, the rhythms, arrangements and colorations.

It is true that the Living Theatre's production uses a text revised by Brecht in 1953 from his play of the mid-20's, while the Masque stays with the original. But the revisions were small and not consequential. Both versions—the Living Theatre's "Man is Man" and the Masque's "A Man's a Man"—agree substantially in subject and theme. What they don't agree on is procedure, tone, spirit and vision. They therefore end up being "about" different things—different spirits, visions, tones and ways of dramatic procedure. And that is the paradox of the form-versus-content dichotomy.

Neither production is anywhere near satisfactory, I'm afraid, but the Masque's, whatever you may have heard, is inferior to the Living Theatre's. The Masque had several advantages: Eric Bentley's translation of the original text is much more lively and unfettered than Gerhard Nellhaus' of the revision, and John Hancock worked with a cast and company whose professional attainments seem well beyond those of his rival. And indeed Hancock has directed a considerably more professional show than Julian Beck, if by professional you mean—and you will have your spectator's license revoked by our stage authorities if you don't mean—slickness, consistency and propriety; everything is in its place, each bit of business clicks off at the right speed, and no effort is spared in hewing to what is considered the Brechtian line.

YET WHAT is the Brechtian line if it is not outside the formulas? In the Masque's superficially coherent and briskly-moving but strangely flat, prim and daunted production, Brecht's fantasy is reduced to the level of English music-hall entertainment, or rather to our neighborhood theater idea of that. When are we going to get over "The Threepenny Opera" and understand that that is only one minor aspect of Brecht and that, even so, you had better do it with rankness and brutality and an ugly kind of insouciance? The Masque people have mounted a bourgeois Brecht, as my colleague Robert Brustein remarked at intermission; they have given us Bob Hope and Harry Lauder instead of Chaplin and the Keystone Kops.

The Living Theatre's "Man is Man," on the other hand, for all that it works in a number of diverse styles, bogs down rather catastrophically in the final scenes (which it might not be irreverent to remark are rather confusing and insufficiently realized as they come to us from Brecht) and is marred by some totally inept performances, but it does at least offer us what we can believe was Brecht's intention. And that was to present the transformation of the laborer Galy Gay into a fighting machine, in a mode of fantasy, low comedy, pathos and savage wit, with a sexual component which the Masque's superficial bawdiness doesn't come near expressing and a distance from naturalism which that production's revue style is not the proper instrument for attaining.

As Galy Gay the Living Theatre's Joseph Chaikin is a great deal superior to the Masque's John Heffernan, because although he is a less accomplished actor he plays the part right, which is to say he tries to maintain the oblique, artificial style—the *gestus* of Brecht's theory—that reinforces the play's position beyond either farce or naturalistic satire. Again, the Living Theatre's Warren Finnerty plays Bloody Five with far more imaginative scope than the Masque's Michael Conrad, who resembles someone out of "Marty," the L. T.'s satanic William Shari is a much better Uriah Shelley than the Masque's coy Harvey Solin and its Benjamin Hayeem a more resourceful and amusing Wang than the Masque's Maurice Edwards. Only the two Widow Begbicks are standoffs, both Judith Malina and Olympia Dukakis being interchangeably hopeless.

I shall close with reference to one scene that seemed to me to indicate the difference between the productions. At the Masque Galy Gay's trial and humiliation are conducted in a straightforward, thoroughly uninventive manner; at the Living Theatre he is inserted up to his neck in a latrine and remains with eyes closed throughout. I think Brecht would have given his nod to that, as well as to as many more productions of his play as we will require before we get with it much more robustly than even the Living Theatre does. RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

The Mores the Merrier

WHETHER OR not one likes the foreign films pouring into our country, one has to admit that many of them have a thoughtful vitality often missing from our own movies. The bloody Japanese "Yojimbo" is a kind of allegory set in an 1860 town, where two rival factions are warring after the decline of the Tokugawa Dynasty. Into this town comes an unemployed samurai (brilliantly played by Toshiro Mifune) who is ready to kill for either side that makes him the better offer. But the samurai sees how greedy and corrupt the opposing factions are, thinks they're all better off dead and then gives some samples of his work by killing a few customers on both sides of the fence. After skillfully setting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the two worthless factions at each other's throats, the hardy samurai gives several more displays of his swordsmanship and guile before the final slaughter.

Producer-director Akira Kurosawa has done an excellent job of staging this grim story of man's cruelty to man. But there is so much violence and villainy in this picture that it becomes difficult to tell whether Kurosawa is just kidding Hollywood westerns, or whether he's giving us a serious warning that men had better stop all this fighting and mend their ways. At times "Yojimbo" reminds one of "High Noon" and "Shane," but it is more violent than either of those well-made westerns. And Toshiro Mifune is a better actor than Gary Cooper or Alan Ladd. I think "Yojimbo" would be even more effective if it didn't take quite such a dim view of mankind, and if it hadn't used quite so much slaughter and violence to put over its message. If Kurosawa means to shock us into thinking about the problem by all the blood in the streets, he probably has been successful. The only trouble is that my stomach became so queasy after the appalling shot of a dog with a severed human hand in its mouth I found thinking rather difficult.

A COUPLE of Italian films scored my tender heart so that I found it difficult to consider them seriously at all. "La Viaccia" is about a mean-spirited family who are so concerned with working the farm and making money that they haven't any time for human virtues. When the grandfather dies, the sons squabble over the farm, and the grandson (Jean Paul Belmondo) goes off to work in his uncle's wineshop in Florence. There the boy falls madly in love with a prostitute (Claudia Cardinale). Since the kid has to steal from his uncle to pay the prostitute who, for a change, has no heart of gold, but is very beautiful as well as mercenary, he soon gets into trouble with the mean bunch who are his family. He finally winds up as the bouncer in the house where his girl works. Since this dim-witted fellow has a very jealous nature he soon gets into worse trouble at the place of his employment. "La Viaccia," directed by Mauro Bolognini, has some of the frankest house of prostitution scenes ever shown in a movie. The 1885 costumes are beautiful and so is the photography of Florence and environs. But these things hardly compensate for the depressing themes, repulsive characters, and pointless plot about a non-hero and his girl.

ALTHOUGH "Divorce—Italian Style" is meant to be a comedy and really has some very amusing scenes during the course of its bitter satire, its main joke is overworked to the point of nausea. Set in Sicily, where the men, as they were in "Bell' Antonio," are more concerned with sex than with anything else, the film tells the story of a vain and shallow aristocrat who is bored with his dull and ever-loving wife. After ogling his attractive young cousin, he is more determined than ever to get rid of his clinging spouse. Italy does not allow divorce; but a deceived husband who kills in defense of his honor usually gets a light sentence. So the determined baron works out a malevolent scheme to get his wife involved in an affair with an artist for whom she once cared. The not-so-noble nobleman will then bump off his wife and marry the lush cousin.

A little of this goes a long way, but the scriptwriters and director Pietro Germi allow the baron's plan and his machinations to run on and on. Some of the situations deserve a laugh, especially those built around the opening of "La Dolce Vita" in this anxious Sicilian town. But some of them are in extremely bad taste, as when the wife's artist friend takes on the wife's maid. The girl later goes to confession, and when the bored priest asks, "And who was it this time?" the girl truthfully replies, "Your godson," and the angry priest nearly explodes out of the confessional.

Although Marcello Mastroianni has been highly praised here and abroad for his performance in the lead role, I think he gives not so much a real acting performance as a slick caricature, greatly helped by the overuse of pomade and a distorted facial make-up. Charlie Chaplin played a similar role in "Monsieur Verdoux," with a finesse and an understanding warmth that helped make the character believable, Mastroianni makes the baron little more than a burlesque joke. Daniela Rocca, as his unattractive wife, is excellent, however; and one appreciates why she may want to leave this stupid husband for the attentive, not-too-bright artist. Perhaps Sicilians deserve the razzing that "Divorce—Italian Style" gives them. Certainly the picture will stimulate discussion. No doubt I am a majority of one in finding the movie and the Sicilians in it quite tiresome.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Lines for the Dedication of a Fallout Shelter

Put not your trust in princes: Nick nor Jack
nor any man commands such megatons to drown
your last betrayal: Gabriel, old clown,
has crowed you twice already. Turn you back
and render: there's a mortgage on this shack
no Caesar's coin will tender. Take you down
the rubbled by-ways of your silent town
to die a man beside the twisted track
your fathers jumped. And stop along the way
to do some stupid, honest kindness to a cow,
a flower, or a misplaced stone (if man
survives, he is beyond you). Did you plan
to live forever? Do it now.
And Nick nor Jack nor I can say you nay.

J. H. MCCANDLESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Religion and the Supreme Court"

Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITORS: Mr. William Ball's thoughtful and forceful comment, "The Forbidden Prayer" [July 27], poses a subtle question in suggesting that the "central problem" is "the meaning of the term 'religion' in the Constitution." But Mr. Ball's answer is surprisingly ingenuous: "Religion is religion," and "if a public school may not teach . . . the fatherhood of God, neither may it teach the brotherhood of man." Mr. Ball concludes, in short, that we are faced with elimination of all value-teaching in the schools—including "Worth of the individual" and "freedom of thought"—because every value is taught by some or all religions.

However, neither the cases nor reason supports the simplex conclusion that religion has a single connotation in all constitutional contexts. To recognize monogamy as a religious value does not mean that the practice of polygamy cannot be outlawed; nor does the fact that polygamy may be a religious practice mean that the state may make no law interfering with its free exercise. The religion of the Sabbatarian may be sacrificed to state concern with health and welfare, while the religion of the parochial school is not established (by the same health-and-welfare token) by free bus transportation. A religious oath may not be required for state office, and a religious objector may not have to salute the flag, but optional religious oaths and voluntary flag-salute are lawful. At the same time, official prayers in public schools are not lawful.

Obviously, "religion is religion" is not the key to the "central problem"—which is not to say either that Mr. Ball is wrong in identifying the problem or that the cases are wrong or beyond harmonization. An effort at reconciliation might be made by taking account of whether "establishment" or "free exercise" is at issue; whether the complainant is seeking only to avoid personal participation, or to abolish a particular practice altogether; whether the practice is motivated or justifiable on other than religious grounds; and whether the practice is necessarily and primarily religious.

In the context of the public schools, it seems reasonable to say that teaching a value is not forbidden simply because one or all religions (theistic or humanistic) cherish it. What is unlawful is teaching a value (expressed in either ritual or dogma) that is associated necessarily and primarily with religion. Thus, an officially sanctioned prayer to a deity is a clear example of what is forbidden, and while teaching the fatherhood of God is also religious (necessarily and primarily so), teaching the brotherhood of man or other democratic values is not. That these values are consistent with the teachings of his, as well as other, religions should be a source of reassurance, rather than of concern, to Mr. Ball.

MONROE H. FREEDMAN

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Mr. William Ball, in an article portentously entitled "The Forbidden Prayer" [July 27] has introduced a strange and wonderful chain of argument for exciting in us the apprehension that all moral and social values, all "oughtness," are about to be extirpated from public life, especially from public schools, by what he rather extravagantly describes as "legal perfectionism" and a "fictional history of disestablishment." His argument goes like this:

1. "The introducing of 'orthodoxies' is inevitable." The teaching of any values or virtues he describes as an "orthodoxy" because:

2. "Religion" is defined in the *Torcaso* and other decisions to include non-theistic faiths and movements; thus, "Ethical Culture" is a "religion";

3. Democracy, freedom, the worth of the individual, etc., are "doctrines" of Ethical Culture, which is a "religion," and "not only sects but their doctrines" are not to be established "according to the *Everson* decision."

4. Therefore, "if a public school may not teach the fatherhood of God, neither may it teach the brotherhood of man. It cannot establish Secular Humanism if it must oust Christian Humanism."

This prospect would indeed be alarming, if true. But it springs from a misunderstanding of the relation between "religion" and "morality," and a pursuit of the matter from the wrong end of the chain. No one can live for long without embracing some values or convictions about the nature of man and of reality. Some of these we share widely with our neighbors. If there were not general consensus that "honesty is the best policy," that men should not kill, maim, or mistreat one another, etc., our society could not long endure. It is certainly the function of the public schools, and of all of us, to strengthen and promote what consensus we have of what is moral and right in social behavior.

Some of the convictions of some of us spring from religious roots in theistic (or non-theistic) *religions*. Some come from equally venerable and laudable secular traditions (the legal, the philosophical, the medical, and others). Religion has no monopoly on morality; not all morality is religious, though most moral convictions we hold are *also* taught by most religious traditions.

It is a proper and necessary function of society and of its government to enact and enforce a code of morality—at least under our Constitution those aspects

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of morality that, 1) manifest themselves as acts directly affecting other persons and, 2) commend themselves to a majority of citizens as a suitable subject for legislation. Laws which prescribe certain acts and proscribe others are presumably enacted to promote the secular welfare and protect the secular rights and interests of the citizenry. If they also harmonize with the teaching of some or all religious groups, so much the better, but that is not the primary reason for their enactment.

If, as Leo Pfeffer lucidly points out in the same issue, law is enacted primarily or preferentially to promote or embody the doctrines or practices or to secure the advantage of one religion or many, it is not an appropriate (or constitutional) subject for legislation, as is manifest in the decisions he cites.

When this rationale is applied to our public schools or to other aspects of our public life, Mr. Ball's bogeyman disappears. We then see that it is appropriate, constitutional, and necessary for children (and adults) to be taught and to learn the (not primarily religious) "ought's" and "ought-not's" which make possible our orderly and peaceable common life together. They are "orthodox" in a perfectly legitimate "secular" sense, as having commended themselves to a majority of citizens for reasons of public policy.

It is when the public schools or other public institutions go beyond this sphere into practices or preaching of explicitly "religious" matters, or even of "moral" injunctions that are not endorsed by the majority of society, that they exceed their constitutional scope and invade the realm of convictions that the First Amendment seeks to make immune from majoritarian invasion, for the protection of all of us.

I would personally like to see our public schools free for a little more than this. I would like us to be secure enough to allow our teachers, as persons, to affirm their personhood in answer to questions by indicating their own convictions on various matters, including political and religious, if they can be just and objective enough not to impose them as "orthodoxies." This can be done by identifying them as *personal*: "*I* believe such-and-such, but *you* may have a different conviction."

(It was to prevent individuals from erecting their convictions into social "orthodoxies" and thereby condemning all who did not share them to something less than full "belongingness" that Justice Jackson condemned symbolic affirmations in the *Barnette* decision. It was to provide tax-exemption to an avowedly "religious" organization that the Ethical Culture Society was judged to be "religious," though not a church. These decisions were laudable and humane, and should not be pieced together to form a Frankenstein's monster.)

In fact, our public schools should teach what various great men and movements have believed about right and wrong, and even about God and man, as is suggested in the *Engel* decision, *provided it is done by attribution*: "The men who wrote our Declaration of Independence said, 'All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator. . . .' That is, *they* believed thus-and-so; *you* may believe differently," and still be as much a citizen as they were—because in our society citizenship is not determined by what you believe or do not believe about God or whether you do or do not pray or go to church. Let's keep it that way!

DEAN M. KELLEY

The Author Replies

Harrisburg, Pa.

TO THE EDITORS: It is interesting to note that it is my views respecting "orthodoxies" and the constitutional meaning of "religion" which have drawn the fire of two such distinguished figures as Professor Freedman and Reverend Dean M. Kelley. I am happy also to note that the target of their fire—my argument respecting those matters—remains unhit. Dr. Kelley has scored direct hits upon a whole lot of other things, but these were targets of his own devising, not of mine.

In making brief reply, first to Professor Freedman, may I point out that I did not express fears that secular humanist teaching was in danger of being eliminated from the public schools. My concern was obviously not over prospects for secular humanism, but rather for theistic value-expression and how it came to be singled out for exclusion. The fact that "every value is taught by some or all religions" was not the basis for any conclusion in my article that all value-teaching must be eliminated from public schools. The fact that the body of values known as secular humanism has now been consecrated as a religion by the Court and yet is to be found in its full integrity in most public schools brought to my mind the fact that one religion is as constitutionally good as another. If secular humanistic explanations of life, human conduct, etc., are to have a place in the schools, other sets of views upon these matters—simply because they involve the idea of God rather than, say, the idea of Democracy—cannot be made the objects of exclusion.

Professor Freedman speaks of my "simplex conclusion that religion has a single connotation in all constitutional contexts"—then he gives examples of polygamy and the Sabbath Laws. I agree that some religious exercises may be hampered or even banned by government, but the point to recall is that this can never be done arbitrarily, never because of the mere fact that they constitute religion. The expression of religion by polygamy was suppressed not because of its being an expression of religion but because of its constituting almost universally a crime. But the New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prayer was banned for no other reason than that it constituted religion. A further related point: if Professor Freedman is of the opinion that "religion" has all sorts of meanings in constitutional law, then what do we make of his conclusion that "What is unlawful is teaching a value (expressed in either ritual or dogma) that is associated necessarily and primarily with *religion*"? (My italics). Under this reasoning, it may be a bit hard to know what is unlawful and what is not.

I agree with Professor Freedman that it is important to know whether "establishment" or "free exercise" is at issue, and I am happy that he indicates that there was a serious issue of standing to sue in *Engel*.

Coming to Dr. Kelley's letter, I should first thank him for describing my chain of arguments as "wonderful." This is rather extravagant praise, but I take it for what it is worth. Better, however, than descriptions of how my argument may be characterized would have been a more particular analysis of it. Nowhere in my article is found disagreement respecting the duty of all schools to promote morality, peace and an orderly community life. But to say that all means of doing so which do not inculcate *theistic* values are therefore "secular" means, is to miss the significance of the definition of religion which the Court pronounced in the *Torcaso* case. But it is also surprisingly to miss the *practical* significance of the dispute which has erupted over the *Engel* case.

It is a fact that great numbers of people want their children to receive a reminder of God in the public schools. But they are told that any form of inculcation of belief in God would be unconstitutional because constituting "religion." Then they find that in most public schools secular humanist beliefs are not merely permitted but promoted. Yet both sets of belief concern the common function of guiding human conduct. I marvel that Dr. Kelley does not see that a human relations program in a public school which posits its "oughtness" upon the will of the majority, or ascribes all evil to environment, is not—regardless of whether you call it "religion"—dealing with the very vitals of our society and promoting philosophical concepts which will have as much *practical* effect as any theistic value-inculcation.

Evidently Dr. Kelley, too, disagrees with the Court and would limit his definition of "religion" to theistic religion. He says that it is when the public schools go beyond the sphere of teaching "the (not primarily religious) 'oughts' and 'ought-nots,'" and into the sphere of "practices or preaching of explicitly 'religious' matters," that they "exceed their constitutional scope." But the question is again begged as to what an "explicitly 'religious' matter" really is. Apparently Dr. Kelley means it to be solely theistic matter, because, though he says that the public schools can teach all sorts of non-theistic precepts, they can teach "about God and man" only by attribution.

I share Dr. Kelley's wish that the public schools be free for a bit more of teaching about God. But I do not think he can have it both ways. The *Engel* decision, which he supports, embodies premises which will leave Dr. Kelley's teaching by attribution program as unconstitutional as the Regents Prayer.

In concluding, I am aware that Mr. Pfeffer may have decided to make passing comment at this time upon my article. My own comment upon Mr. Pfeffer's general position in the School Prayer Case is developed in a series of two legal articles which will appear in the Summer and Fall issues of *The Catholic Lawyer*, published by the St. Thomas More Institute for Legal Research.

WILLIAM B. BALL

MARIA ANGELICA

(Excerpt from a missionary's letter)

"Maria Angelica is twelve. For a long time her mother knew the little girl had leprosy but she tried to keep it hidden, in horror of the day her daughter would be sent to the public leprosy camp.

"Last September neighbors insisted Maria be sent away. But because the leprosy camp is dreaded by all, Father X arranged to have the child enter the poor little leprosy colony we conduct here for Bishop Y.

"Maria screamed with terror when she first met the other victims of leprosy here. Actually they've been kindness itself to her. They remember what it was like for themselves in the beginning, before they found out that leprosy is curable . . ."

CMMB helps missionaries care for thousands of children like Maria Angelica, suffering from leprosy and many other diseases.

Please help us. Send whatever you can to

The Catholic Medical Mission Board

Dept. C 8 West 17th Street New York 11, N.Y.

SPECIAL STUDENT OFFER: 1 Year, $6; 26 Weeks, $3

THE COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $_____ Please send The Commonweal for ☐ 1 year, ☐ 26 weeks to:

Name (School) _____

Address _____

City Zone **State** _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

J. F. Powers' Long-Awaited First Novel

Morte D'Urban. By J. F. Powers. Doubleday. $4.50.

by Thomas Curley

IT IS always a pleasure to find a book that neither insults nor, at least at first, taxes one's intelligence. *Morte D'Urban* is such a book. The prose is clear, lean, and supple: it is the work of a master who has achieved virtuosity. This, of course, is nothing new to those who have read Mr. Powers' previous books. Nevertheless it should be said, for there are many great and good writers who make the going hard for their readers: Melville, James, and Faulkner, to name only three. That Powers is easy reading is no drawback; so is Swift.

Another quality of Powers' style which stands him in good stead is the *gaiety* of his wit. That is pertinent here because *Morte D'Urban* could have been bitter, even savage, in its ridicule of a certain kind of priest. That it is not bitter is due to Powers' respect for the element of play, the barrier that separates art from savagery—and from advertising and propaganda. An example of this is the way he explains the lack of excessive mourning at the death of a pastor: "He represented a type of gentleman-priest no longer being produced in seminaries—now thoroughly Americanized, and turning out policemen, disc jockeys, and an occasional desert father. And the circumstances of Phil's death (heart attack while golfing in the Bahamas) weren't favorable, for it was a very cold day in Minnesota."

But this is not new either. What is new, what should be remarked, is the successful transition he has made from the short story to the novel. Powers has been writing for close to twenty years, and this is his first novel. It would have surprised no one had the disciplines he mastered in the shorter form occasioned obvious faults in his novel. They did not, I think, because Powers so thoroughly realized the "hero" of his story, Father Urban Roche. Everyone else in the book is, however, out of the world of the short story. That is to say, they are all "characters." There is nothing complex or many-sided about them. They do not change; they do not live in time.

Father Urban is another matter altogether. A priest of the Order of St. Clement (which is an invention of the author's), "fifty-four, tall and handsome but a trifle loose in the jowls and red of eye," he was the most sought-after preacher in the Chicago, or Western province. He was as dedicated to the good of the Order as anyone else, but while other Clementines spoke of beefing up the Order, Urban Roche wanted to raise its *tone*. And when it came to converts, he thought more attention ought to be paid to a type generally ignored—the higher type. As he says of himself in a daydream towards the end: "Some of his best friends were Catholics with a cruel streak in them."

Father Urban is operating as only he can operate, when all of a sudden and for no good reason a slightly stupid Provincial exiles him—assigning him to the Order's newest white elephant, a would-be retreat house in Duesterhaus, Minnesota, out there cheek by jowl with the Ostrogoths. St. Clement's Hill is a grand spot, and there are some grand, hilarious times (for the reader, not for Father Urban) in the weeks before Christmas. There are no retreatants; there is very little heat; there is no money to spend for labor. His Superior gives him an oversized cap and puts him to work sandpapering and painting. In the evening, he can either freeze in his room or play checkers with Father Jack who was good at only two things, the spiritual life and checkers.

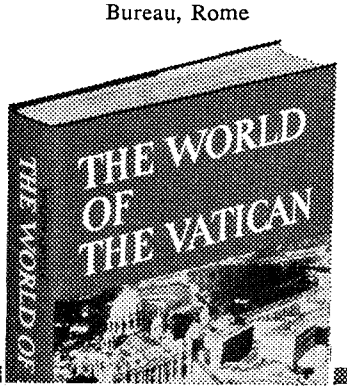
But there is no stopping Father Urban. A few days before Christmas a civic group asks him to speak. One chance is enough. Things begin to move, and before a year is up St.

Timely background information for the Ecumenical Council on Church Unity now meeting in Rome

The World OF THE Vatican

By ROBERT NEVILLE

former Chief of the *Time-Life* Bureau, Rome



The little-known world within the Leonine Walls comes vividly to life in this behind-the-scenes report on the personalities, politics, strategy and financing of the Vatican of Pope John XXIII — who has made Church unity one of the great tasks of his reign. This book presents a reliable account of the intricate organization of the Vatican and a lively biography of Pope John. It offers information on the preparations for the Ecumenical Council and includes many of the issues to be raised at what may be the most significant council of the Roman Catholic Church since the Council of Trent in 1545-63. Illustrated.

$4.95 *at your bookseller*

HARPER & ROW, Publishers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clement's Hill is on the map, thanks to Father Urban's enterprise. Having seen the potential of some nearby land, Father Urban gets in touch with one of the rich benefactors he had cultivated in Chicago and soon the Clementines own a golf course. Even the bishop, who had been stand-offish before, comes to play.

The bishop plays badly; he leaves in a huff. There is even talk that he is thinking of taking over St. Clement's Hill (golf course included, of course) for a diocesan seminary. Providence, however, intervenes. The bishop pays a second visit, but this time he brings along a young priest who, it is clear, is supposed to give Father Urban a lesson on the links. But Father Urban plays even better than usual, and is on the verge of winning, when he is hit on the head and knocked unconscious by a ball from the bishop's club.

It is at this point, about a hundred pages from the end, that the point of the title begins to come through. Morte D'Urban does not refer to the physical death of Urban Roche, the man and the priest, but to the decline and "death" of the character Urban, the glad-hander, the operator, the opportunist, the sucker for rich Catholics with a cruel streak in them. During the last part of the novel Father Urban suffers several more indignities, moral and physical, but he does not die and he does become the new Provincial, only to disappoint those who expected him to "do something."

At first, Father Urban seems to be a "character" like the rest, only more so. As his "character" is destroyed, however, we begin to re-interpret what we have already learned. True, he was an opportunist, but he also took a parish census more-or-less on his own when the pastor was too lazy; and he went out of his way to make it convenient for a servant girl to go to daily Mass. We see these aspects of his person after his urbanity begins to crumble. Powers has managed an unusually subtle creation. Ironic literature, Professor Northrop Frye points out, begins with realism and tends towards myth. I have probably missed many of the allusions but there is no doubt (and the evidence is in the novel, not just the title) that throughout the last hundred pages Powers has parodied the patterns of Arthurian romance. Father Urban suffers, and suffers deservedly, but he endures and, in a sense, prevails. It may be paradoxical, but in tending toward the myth by way of parody, Urban grows in humanity.

When he was first at St. Clement's Hill, Father Urban used to say, with unmistakable irony, that although he had traveled for many years out of Chicago, he now regarded the Hill as his home. The very last lines of the book find him back in town as Provincial writing to his former Superior, with no *conscious* irony at all, that "although for many years he'd traveled out of Chicago, he seemed to think of the Hill as home." This about-face is neither cute nor contrived; it is just right. *Morte D'Urban* is a work of rare art.

Six Safe Choices

Images of Truth. By Glenway Wescott. Harper & Row. $6.

by Richard McLaughlin

GLENWAY WESCOTT's skill at turning his appreciation of literature into a cozy affair is sure to attract the attention of thousands of grateful U.S. clubwomen. But it's just as certain that his lacy valentine will scare off countless readers who prefer their literary criticism to be astringent rather than effusive. Few, for example, will ever get beyond the following passage: "What I shall do is flutter in and out of that noble repository and treasure-trove, picking out bright bits, like a magpie." Well, magpie Wescott is plainly not everybody's literary guide. True, he happens to be talking here of Colette's autobiographical novels, but he might as well be summing up the tenor and general fluttery spirit of many of his own essays.

This is indeed regrettable, for, despite all the meandering and verbal window-dressing, there are times when one perceives more than a mere ingratiating commentary, content to point the way for sight-seers. Bent on sharing his enthusiasm with his readers, Wescott manages now and then to lift the veil, so to speak, on the mysteries of creative writing. He is also to be complimented on a highly perceptive and elaborately detailed analysis of the different texts under consideration. Every nuance of motif, texture and plot is examined with painstaking care, as he examines "the books that I love"—*Ship of Fools, Christmas Holiday, Break of Day, Out of Africa, The Magic Mountain* and *The Ides of March*. Furthermore, an old hand at storytelling, Wescott has wisely livened his somewhat lengthy expository sections with chatty *memorabilia* and, perhaps best of all, "informal portraiture."

"I am a portrait lover," says Wescott the novelist, not the critic. And immediately the besetting sins of what you would call his talker's style (which is not unlike Hazlitt's for its ornamentation and paradox) are absolved before the pen-portraits he has fashioned with a few quick strokes:

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946, and JUNE 11, 1960 (74 Stat. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION of THE COMMONWEAL, published weekly at Norwalk, Conn., for October 5, 1962.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, THE COMMONWEAL Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Editor, Edward S. Skillin, 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Managing Editor, James O'Gara, 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Business Manager, Edward S. Skillin, 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more or total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership, or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.; Mrs. David Burnham, New Milford, Conn.; Kathleen Casey Craig, Sewickley, Pa.; J. Sanford Shanley, 152 E. 36th St., New York 16, N. Y., William Pfaff, 107 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y.; Edward S. Skillin, 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.; Otto L. Spaeth, 120 East 81st St., New York 28, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was 22,237. (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960, to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue.)

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, Bus. Mgr.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September, 1962.

Ethel Greenspan, Notary Public

(My commission expires March 30, 1964)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Katherine Anne Porter: "She has in fact a lovely face, of the utmost distinction in the Southern way; moon-flower pale, never sunburned, perhaps not burnable. She is a small woman with a fine figure still; sometimes slender, sometimes not. Her eyes are large, dark, and lustrous, and they are apt to give one fond glances, or teasing merry looks, or occasionally great flashes of conviction or indignation. Her voice is sweet, a little velvety or husky."

Colette: "I remember her strong hands—serious writing is a manual labor!—and her fine feet in sandals, perhaps larger than most, rather like the feet of Greek goddesses. I remember her slightly frizzly hair fetched forward almost to her eyebrows, because (as she told her readers) she has a square boyish or mannish forehead. I remembered her delicate nostrils and her painted thin lips."

Somerset Maugham: "I remember that one day he came in from his writing room, visibly happy—with a light step, the strong downward expression of his mouth softened, his eyes in their delicate crisscross wrinkles perfectly clear—and remarked, 'I will tell you, as it may not have occurred to you, that there is a particular drawback in the career of writing.' "

This very living portrait gallery tends to compensate, but not altogether, for the irritating way Wescott has of pigeonholing his readers. Whether or not he is conscious of it, this form of self-advertising can be quite tedious, especially when it is interjected in a fussy tone.

Wescott speaks of this collection of remembrances and criticism as a "loving commentary" on six of his favorite fellow-novelists and their lifework—Katherine Anne Porter, Somerset Maugham, Colette, Isak Dinesen, Thomas Mann and Thornton Wilder.

Images of Truth is largely made up of previously published material, rearranged and brought up to date. The volume contains little or no adverse comment. On the contrary, such negative matters are left to Wescott's harsher critics, who are apt to seize on the fact that he believes in playing safe, since there is not a loser in the group he backs. All six, moreover, are either friends or acquaintances. Still, there is no law that says he cannot write testimonials to his fellows if he wishes to. Besides, is it not quite a rarity nowadays?

REVIEWERS

Thomas F. Curley, a New York novelist and critic, is the author of the recently published *It's A Wise Child.*

Richard McLaughlin, a frequent contributor to *The Commonweal* in the past, is a Massachusetts newspaperman.

from

CONCEPTION ABBEY PRESS

Box 715 Conception, Missouri

DISTINCTIVE • RELIGIOUS

CHRISTMAS CARDS

BOX OF 20 DESIGNS

$2.00 plus postage. Order now.

Send postcard with address for free illustrated poster and imprinting information.

Five personal benefits you get from U.S. Savings Bonds:

1. Your investment is guaranteed safe by the U.S. Government.
2. Your Bonds are replaced free if anything happens to them.
3. You can get your money back whenever you need it.
4. You can save automatically where you work.
5. You get back $4 for every $3 at maturity.

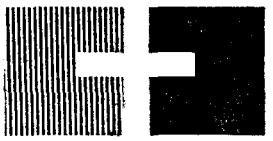
Keep freedom in your future with

U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

This advertising is donated by The Advertising Council and this magazine.

FOR THE FALL TERM

CLASS ORDERS, 10 or more copies for any number of weeks, to a single name and address, are charged at 13¢ a copy. A free copy is added for instructor or distributor. Write to Class Orders, The Commonweal.



A new—and hopeful—approach to the ecumenical movement

PROGRESS AND PERSPECTIVES

The Catholic Quest for Christian Unity

By GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A.

"Most welcome . . . a message we all need to hear. Coming from the pen of a consultor for the Papal Secretariat for Christian Unity, Father Baum's book has special relevance in the year that the Second Vatican Council convenes."
—AVERY DULLES, S.J.

"Both Catholics and Protestants will find here a Catholic theology of ecumenism at its very best."
—GEORGE H. TAVARD

At your bookstore, $3.95

SHEED & WARD, N. Y. 3

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

Baltimore 10, Maryland

Conducted by the School Sisters of Notre Dame

Fully Accredited

Program leading to A.B. degree
Arts and Sciences

Teacher Training Pre-Medical

For catalog and further information address the Director of Admissions

Classified

• RATES: 25¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines: $1.50 a line, 2 lines minimum. Discounts: 3 times, 5%; 7 times, 10%; 13 times, 15%. Payable with order.

Catholic Books

• CATHOLIC BOOKS, NEW and USED
Free Lists, Free Search Service
C. F. PETELLE, Box 289, Maywood, Illinois

Executive Director Wanted

• WANTED: Experienced Director-Secretary, man or woman, for Southern California Lay Apostolate Center. Salary $400 monthly. Write Box 105, The Commonweal.

Mission Needs

• "MY CATHOLIC FAITH," 100 copies needed. Donations of $3 appreciated. ST. MARY'S MISSION, Above Rocks, Jamaica, W.I.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Timely Magazine

It is the express aim of The Commonweal to provide its readers with relevant and thoughtful editorials, articles and reviews probing the burning issues of our time. As a journal of opinion edited by Catholic laymen, The Commonweal plays an important role in American publishing—presenting, with striking frequency, viewpoints and articles which many find to be unique and significant.

Accordingly, nothing could be more relevant than the prominent role The Commonweal played in the recent nation-wide discussion of the Supreme Court's prayer decision. Likewise, during the preliminaries for the Vatican Council, it was highly fitting that this journal should publish a searching series of articles on the role of the layman in the Church. These matters are squarely in the province of The Commonweal's long tradition—a tradition dating back thirty-eight years.

Naturally, The Commonweal expresses a point of view. In the eyes of many, The Commonweal is known as a "liberal" magazine. In the sense in which this word is loosely used in American social and political life, it is perhaps accurate enough. Yet The Commonweal conceives of its role not as serving as an organ for a partisan point of view but, instead, that of confronting the complexities and challenges of the modern world.

The Church, Catholics have always held, is a contemporary Church with old and solid roots. In this sense, The Commonweal is concerned with the world in which we now live—with its social injustices, its threat of nuclear annihilation, its underdeveloped countries, its technical mastery and human insensitivity—but also with the heritage of Christian humanism and the sacredness of man which have come down to us through the ages.

A trial subscription to The Commonweal will bring you 17 weeks of solid and challenging reading. Politics, culture, religion, the arts, books, international affairs—The Commonweal casts a large net. See for yourself.

Mail Coupon or a Facsimile

----------SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER----------

For New Subscribers Only

THE COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $2. Please send the next 17 issues of The Commonweal to:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....Zone..... State.....

10/12/62

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED